LABOUR MONTHLY

EDITOR R. PALME DUTT

NOTES OF THE MONTH — R.P.D.

TEHERAN IN DEEDS — Harry Pollitt

THE U.S. PRESIDENCY — Ivor Montagu

GOVERNMENT POST-WAR POLICY — John Gollan

DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA — Ann Kelly

BOOK REVIEWS

TEHERAN IN DEEDS

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AUGUST 1944

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TWO BALANCES

"A balanced political viewpoint," writes one of our regular guarantors, "without the guidance of R.P.D. and the rest of LABOUR MONTHLY would be unthinkable, so rest assured, I shall not stop." The very low state of the Guarantee Fund this month forces us to say, with renewed force and vigour, that a balanced financial budget is also a *sine qua non*. In arriving at our monthly totals, it always interests us greatly to assess, if and as far as possible, the reasons for any noticeable increase or decrease. Useful, this, if it can be done with any accuracy; for we can then try to avoid the conditions in a bad month or duplicate them in a good one.

Often, however, conditions are beyond our control or even influence. The main difference between this and preceding months is, of course, the doodle-bug which has bothered Southern England. People with wrecked homes must attend to them first. We therefore suggest that people living in non-Southern England, in the technical doodle-bug sense, should try hard to raise the Fund's level. How about it, the North, West and East?

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(*Continued on page iii. of cover*)

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

A Changing World—The Final Battles—New Perspectives—Present and Future—Positive Confidence—Maintaining the Initiative—Legacies of the Past—Consolidation of Victory—Destroying Nazism and German Domination—Dubious Manoeuvres—False Memories of Versailles—1944 is not 1918—A New Situation—Facing the Facts—No Loopholes for the Enemy—Practical Conclusions—Destruction and Construction—The Future.

WITH lightning speed the face of the world is changing in these days of decisive action. Within six weeks of the opening of the combined offensive such blows have been delivered against the Nazi armies as already presage their final defeat. In the West, the effective establishment of the bridgehead in Normandy, the capture of Cherbourg and Caen and 55,000 prisoners; in the East, the advance of 300 miles in three weeks, with 250,000 German killed and 130,000 prisoners, and the Soviet armies at the gates of East Prussia. All the signals are set for full speed ahead to the final and complete destruction of Nazi tyranny in Europe, possibly within this year. The last round has still to be fought. Nazism has still 300 to 320 German divisions and 80 satellite divisions. The beast at bay will fight with reckless ferocity to the ultimate collapse: the massacres of the French village of Oradour, of the Hungarian Jews, of half the population of Vilna, or the random savagery of the flying bomb are a foretaste of the last stages. The price of liberation is not light, and will be heavier. But the goal is certain.

WHAT is being demonstrated in these final battles that have now opened is the gigantic power of the democratic nations of the world once they are united in action. If so much has been achieved in the first few weeks of the first combined offensive of the United Nations, even while only a minority of the total Anglo-American forces is yet engaged against the enemy, how much more will be achieved when the entire available offensive strength of Britain and the United States in the West is flung against the beleaguered Nazi armies alongside the hammer blows of the Soviet armies in the East and the rising insurrection of the European peoples? This unity is the earnest of the future. For this unity in action we who have opposed fascism from the first onset have striven through all these years, through the black years of reverses and divisions and denials when its realisation seemed to doubters and fainthearts dim and distant and an unattainable dream. Now the dream is coming true. The harvest of the efforts and sacrifices of countless millions through all these years is being reaped. The foulest tyranny the world has known, the greatest menace which has threatened to end all human progress in a world of scientifically organised barbarism and slavery, is in process of being destroyed. These are only the first fruits of the rising democratic and progressive unity of the peoples in action. They hold the promise of more, much more to come, given the maintenance and carrying forward of this unity into the new world.

A NEW perspective is opening out before the world. These are days of all-out action, when there is small room for long analysis or theoretical disquisitions. It is well not to count on victory over the enemy until the last battle has been fought and the final blow dealt: and not even then;

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for it will still be necessary to safeguard and consolidate the victory by destroying utterly the foundations of that tyranny which has darkened the world for a decade, so that it shall never rise again. All the immediate concentration of thought and endeavour must be directed to these final battles and to these tasks of destruction which must precede and create the conditions for the tasks of construction. But it is the distinctive character of the present phase that these final stages of the battle inevitably coincide with the preliminary and crucial preparatory stages of the world after the war. Hence it is no less essential that, in the midst of these final battles, which must occupy the first place in the attention and effort of all, the thought and opinion of the people must also be clear, united and determined on the new tasks of construction before us which are opening out through the present military action.

THERE is no wall of separation between the ending of the war in Europe and the world after the war. The war conditions will still continue in respect of the struggle against Japanese aggression. The new problems and opportunities arise out of the old—but in a radically altered balance of world relations, in which reaction will have received its heaviest setback of recent times, and the initiative and power to mould events will lie far more strongly with the progressive and popular forces. The outlines of the post-war world will not be settled by paper blueprints drawn up in a vacuum. They are being settled in present action; and only those who have played their effective part in the present struggle will be in the same proportion able to shape the post-war world. It is the present unity of the peoples in the battle against fascism that is the foundation for subsequent world organisation and the hope of the future.

TO a generation which has suffered many disillusionments, and been bruised by many blows and defeats and betrayals between 1918 and 1941, in the midst of the chaos of the capitalist decline and the failure of the old forms of the labour movement, it is not always easy at once to adjust the vision to the new perspective of positive achievement which is opened by the defeat of fascism. There is still widespread scepticism and lack of confidence; the assumption that the future must repeat the past, that the end of a victorious anti-fascist war can only reproduce the end of the imperialist war of a generation ago, and that the prospect must inevitably be one of renewed unemployment and worsened conditions, reaction and new world conflict. Such assumptions are not only blind to the new opportunities of positive leadership which the working-class and popular forces can now fulfil, following the defeat of fascism and its allies throughout the world; the indulgence of such assumptions can produce the very outcome they fear. It is necessary radically to change this outlook, which still lingers among the older generation of workers, and to inspire the positive confidence of the working-class and the peoples in their own united strength to strike out a new line of advance and, just as they have defeated the anti-Soviet and pro-fascist plotters, established the common alliance with the Soviet Union and are thereby smashing Hitler, so henceforward to maintain and carry forward the initiative and shape increasingly the world future.

THIS strengthened political leadership which the working-class and democratic representatives will be able to fulfil in the new period will be effective to the extent that it takes into account in a realist and responsible fashion the changed conditions, shows the united path forward for the nations which have combined in the present

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military alliance to combine equally for peace, and tackles the immediate concrete problems which will clamour for solution at the end of the war. The unity which is today defeating fascism must not be disrupted with the defeat of fascism, to revert to the world of 1918-39. On the contrary, it must be strengthened and carried forward into the new period. This unity, this co-operation of the Western democratic nations with the Socialist Soviet Union, with the corresponding unity of the popular forces within each country in the struggle against fascism and reaction, which is the basically new feature of the world situation, which is completely contrary to the character of the whole epoch of 1918-39, is the key to the future; the germ of world co-operation and combined world leadership; the path of progressive social advance.

BUT this unity at the same time contains within itself a heavy inheritance from the past, of inevitable contradictions arising from existing economic structures and imperialist relations, as well as still unresolved divisions of the working-class and democratic movement. These contradictions must be frankly faced, and cannot be exorcised by rosewater phrases of harmony and good intentions. But these contradictions must not be allowed to disrupt the unity which has been already achieved, in spite of the contradictions, and which can be and must be further strengthened. On the contrary, the strengthened unity of the democratic forces, both on the basis of world co-operation of the democratic nations, and on the basis of progressive democratic anti-fascist unity within each country, must strive to pursue such policies as will help to counter the disruptive consequences of these contradictions during the period immediately ahead, and thus to provide the most favourable conditions, through the strengthening of the working-class and progressive forces, finally to eliminate the contradictions by basic social change. This is the distinctive character of the path forward in the period ahead.

THE first task of the present alliance of the United Nations is to defeat the enemy, and to ensure that that defeat is final. This is set out in the terms of the Teheran Declaration for "the destruction of the German forces . . . destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air," together with the accompanying Moscow decisions for the punishment of war criminals and for the suppression of all institutions and organisations established by fascism. The Teheran agreement comprises two main parts: the first, military, for the joint destruction of the German war machine; and the second, political, for the continuance of the partnership of the three Powers in peace and for the organisation of world co-operation of democratic nations. These two parts are inseparably associated; the one cannot be isolated from the other. There can be no settlement which leaves the German war machine intact or capable of restoration. This carries very definite consequences for the character of the settlement with Germany, whatever the composition of the government which may succeed Hitler. The lines of such a settlement are still the subject of negotiation between the Allied Governments, and will necessarily be affected by the character of the military and political situation at the close of the war. But it is essential that opinion in the United Nations should already be clear and united on the general principles governing such a settlement, which in broad outline have already been indicated by official statements: for this is the indispensable foundation

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for future world co-operation and democratic security.

THIS is the more important, because there are already signs, with the improvement in the military situation, of moves and manoeuvres to undermine this foundation for world peace, and, in the name of this or that abstract principle, whether of supposed national equality, or humanitarian principles, or enlightened economic policy, or deprecation of hatred or revenge, and the like, to salvage the basis of German economic and military power in Europe. These advocates show always more concern with the prospective fate of the fascist criminals than with the actual fate of the millions of their victims. It is not surprising when the reactionary pro-fascists and Munichites, or those sections of monopoly capital which were most closely linked with German monopoly capital and are now concerned to resume their suspended relations with their opposite numbers in Germany, should pursue such manoeuvres. It is more serious when there is confusion on this issue in the labour movement or among the left, not merely among pacifist elements, but among well-meaning, but confused sections who fall into the trap. For, in fact, the pro-fascist policy, which has no direct popular support, has never been able to be put through except with the aid of dangerous or confused sections in the labour movement and among the left. This was the case with non-intervention; it was the case with Munich; it was the case with the imposition of the Vichy regime in France. Hence the importance of being on guard.

ARE there signs of such tendencies in discussion in Britain at present? Unfortunately there are. It is only necessary to refer to the resolution of the seventy M.P.s, mostly Liberal and Labour, opposing the declaration of the Government on the Atlantic Charter and Germany; or the declaration of twenty-three signatories, including the Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, published in May, against any territorial weakening of Germany and for the "close organisation of the economic life of an integrated Europe"—a declaration in marked opposition to the lines of the official Labour Party Executive statement on the principles of the International Post-War Settlement, published in April, which in relation to the settlement on Germany was in full agreement with Government and United Nations policy. Or we may refer to such typical declarations as that of Mr. Hore-Belisha, M.P., in the parliamentary debate on May 25, referring to the beneficent work of Hitler in "integrating the economy of Europe; he has unified transport, communications, broadcasting, the postal system; should we not use for good what this man had intended for evil?" Or the similar propaganda for a "United States of Europe" (i.e., Western and Central Europe, or the old Pan-Europe of the Pan-German dream, realised in Hitler's "New Order") freely spread today in the left press. Or the outcry against reparations and the punishment of war criminals. All these are forms of propaganda which, in fact, protect the interests of the maintenance of German domination in Europe and would prepare the basis for renewed German military aggression.

THE measures which the United Nations will require to adopt in relation to Germany must be judged on the basis, both of the concrete situation and relation of forces inside Germany, and the necessary steps to destroy the foundations of German fascism and militarism and its reactionary supporters, and also of the position of Germany in Europe, and the steps necessary to undo the

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effects of the Nazi "New Order" and German domination in Europe, and to prevent the revival of German domination or new aggression.

MUCH of the confusion which exists among considerable sections of the labour and progressive movement on this question arises from the "hangover of Versailles," i.e., the memories of the old campaigns of exposure against the Versailles Treaty, which constitute the familiar background of earlier appreciation of international politics among the present dominant generation in the labour movement (the younger generation which grew up in the struggle against fascism are less affected). The situation and conditions of the Versailles Treaty are transferred to the entirely different situation and conditions today. The Vansittart propaganda, with its racial note, and complete remoteness from the outlook of working-class internationalism, further provokes this kind of reaction.

BUT 1944 is not 1918. Those who are still living in the past need to awaken to the realities of the present day. The Versailles Treaty was imposed against a democratic Germany, at a time when the popular revolution in Germany had overthrown the old regime, but proved not strong enough to complete its victory or break the basis of power of the old reactionary institutions, junkerism and militarism, and when the main concern of the Western Powers was to prevent the development of the German revolution towards socialism or association with the Soviet Union. The Versailles Treaty penalised and discredited German Democracy, while at the same time every encouragement was given to German reaction and militarism to rebuild its forces and carry forward its secret arming and formation of illegal armed corps in the name of preserving "law and order." As soon as Nazism conquered in Germany, all the restriction of the Versailles Treaty were rapidly withdrawn, and free play and assistance given for the rebuilding of German aggressive military power.

TODAY the situation is basically different. Eleven years of Nazi rule have heavily weakened the forces of the German working-class and democracy, exterminated tens of thousands of its best leaders, and trained the youth in a brutal militarist-fascist school to become young hooligans and gangsters, completely cut off from any human cultural tradition or outlook. The measure of success with which this has been achieved has been alarmingly shown by the fact that it has been possible for three years to lead the German people, whose working-class movement had once been the pride of international socialism, in a bestial openly predatory war against the first Socialist State, without serious opposition manifesting itself or being able to impede such aggression. A Marx or an Engels, a Bebel or a Liebknecht, were they living today, would be the first to recognise that this is an unparalleled new situation which the wheel of history has brought in Germany, a victory without limit for the moment of all the forces against which they fought and repeatedly warned, grown now to a hydra menacing the whole world, and requiring unparalleled new measures to deal with that menace.

WHILE we must assist to the utmost every sign of opposition in Germany (as indicated in the line of the Free Germany National Committee), while we must pay tribute to the heroism of every militant anti-fascist fighter in Germany, it is evident to all by the hard logic of experience that the fall of Hitler will now come primarily and directly as a result of the military blows from outside of the anti-fascist coalition, that is, of the external working-class and democratic forces,

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and not as a result of the superior strength of the internal working-class and democratic forces inside Germany These forces, we may be confident, will surge forward in the moment of defeat. But they will not have made the defeat. They will not yet have established their capacity to hold in check unaided those violent forces which were crushing them. This is the perspective which must be taken into account in determining the measures necessary following the defeat of Hitler-Germany.

WHAT is the conclusion which inexorably follows from this perspective? The powerful, dangerous and tenacious forces of German reaction, militarism and Nazism, defeated from without, but not from within, will not at once disappear after military defeat. They have already made elaborate and formidable preparations for such a situation. They have further had the successful trial experience of 1918-1933 in the methods of carrying forward their organisation, even under conditions of supposed disarmament, illegality and democratic victory, in exploiting a confused internal situation and playing on international divisions, jealousies and rivalries of the victors, or hostility of capitalism and socialism on the international plane, to rebuild their power and renew their aggression. While it would be premature to endeavour to estimate the type of regime which may immediately succeed to the collapse of Hitler in Germany, it is evident that even an advanced democratic regime would at first be very weak and unstable, and that the working-class and democratic elements will need time to build up their strength. During this period it would be fatal for the United Nations and the international working-class to base their calculations for the prevention of the renewal of German reactionary domination and military aggression solely on the internal strength of the German working-class and democracy.

THESE are the concrete conditions of the fight against fascism which are entirely different in character from the period of the Versailles Treaty, when fascism had not yet come into existence. It is in the light of these considerations that the measures to be carried out in relation to Germany at the end of the war need to be judged. Therefore it is necessary to ensure that United Nations military occupation shall carry through and ensure the complete destruction of the German war machine, the dismantling of war material, the rooting out and extirpation of the Gestapo and Nazi gangs and secret military formations, and the execution of the terms of the settlement. Therefore it is necessary that the punishment of war criminals and destruction of fascist institutions cannot be simply left to the German people, but must be carried through under United Nations control and directly by the wronged peoples of Europe.

IN the same way it is necessary that reparation, including labour reparation, for the loot and plunder and economic devastation of Europe be carried out, not merely as a measure of justice and retribution, but in order to ensure that German reaction and the industrialists behind fascism shall not, after military defeat, continue to profit from their plunder and carry forward in new forms their economic domination over an impoverished Europe. Equally it is necessary that whatever territorial changes are required, not merely to cancel Hitler's annexations, but to weaken the basis of Prussian domination in Germany and of the domination of Prussia-Germany over Europe, must be carried through in the vital interests of the security and self-determination of all the peoples of Europe who have

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been overrun by Germany, and thereby also in the interests of the democratic and peaceful development of the German people themselves; and that no arguments of local self-determination can be allowed to stand in the way of this, any more than the same arguments when used by Hitler in relation to the Sudeten Germans as a lever for undermining Czechoslovakia as the bastion of peace in Europe. It is vital, and of life-and-death importance, that the entire labour movement and all democratic representatives shall be crystal-clear and determined on these issues, shall fight to ensure that these measures are carried out, and shall allow no manoeuvres of the right to prevent their fulfilment.

BUT this is only the first step to complete and consolidate victory over fascism. It has been necessary to dwell first on this essential foundation, because it is the indispensable pre-condition of all the further aims of world organisation, reconstruction and international democratic collaboration. In much of current discussion in many quarters these wider aims of world organisation are too often treated in an abstract fashion and separated from the stern tasks of the destruction of fascism. Hence the importance of emphasising first and foremost at this moment these destructive tasks, which find expression today in the present battles, still to be carried through to completion.

GIVEN this foundation, the further questions of far wider scope press for attention, which are already outlined in existing decisions and are the subject of present negotiations —the building of the world association of democratic nations, of world security and co-operation for economic reconstruction and the raising of living standards. The problems of the methods and framework of international relations, to combine the freedom and equality of all nations, great and small, with the necessary organisation of security on a basis of united power capable of preventing new aggression, are now the subject of wide discussion and preliminary governmental exchanges. The success of any such measures for international political co-operation are inseparably bound up with the thorny problems of international economic co-operation, requiring to be realised in the new relations of world forces; in a world containing powerfully developed socialist and capitalist economic forms; in a world shrunken and drawn closer by modern technical development and speedier communications; in a world at once of enormously increased productive power, great inequalities of wealth and development in different countries, and urgent needs of the war-devastated countries and regions of backward technical development. Here the success of the International Money Conference at Bretton Woods is of good augury for the possibility of provisional working solutions, despite the sharp contradictions. These problems, economic and political, are in turn bound up with the necessity of tackling with a bold and fresh approach the issues of the colonial system; and in this connection Gandhi's recent offer affords a golden opportunity for a new beginning in India. Finally, it will be necessary to consider with a fresh approach the problems of the present political perspective in Britain, the path forward of the labour movement and of democratic development, and the method of accomplishment of the social and economic changes which are imperatively demanded by present conditions in this country, no less than by the rising popular consciousness of the need for change. To these questions it will be necessary to return in a subsequent issue.

R. P. D.

July 18, 1944.

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Teheran in Deeds

by HARRY POLLITT

WHO would have dared to predict on June 6 that by the middle of July the entire political and military situation in Europe could have changed in such an amazing manner? And yet, during all the political campaigns for the Second Front as the major strategy of the United Nations, emphasis was always laid on the fact that once it was opened, precisely these swift developments would take place.

The present position is also a blow against all who have scoffed at the decisions of the Teheran Conference, who have described it as "just another conference of the high-ups," just "another international talking shop; nothing will come out of it," or who have poured scorn on the possibility of capitalist and socialist nations uniting together, pooling their common resources and carrying through a common strategy. When we consider how matters stand now in regard to Teheran and its effects upon the military situation in the midst of this gigantic European war, we have a right to suggest that it offers exactly the same splendid prospects for co-operation in solving the gigantic economic and social problems in the days of peace that are now coming so much nearer.

Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin declared at Teheran:

> We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west, and south.

Agreement has passed to actual deeds, and what deeds they are: They represent the triumph of the forces of democracy and freedom over those of tyranny and terror. They have struck a heavy blow, to be followed up by many others, at the most powerful organised war machine that had ever been got together, a machine which rested on the slave labour of over three hundred million people, backed by enormous resources, and gaining many of its victories because people thought it was too formidable to be attacked, let alone defeated.

At rock bottom, all this achievement of the United Nations rests on the unity and effort of the common peoples, putting aside all thoughts of vested interest and subordinating everything to one aim—the defeat of fascism—so that later we can pass to greater victories in the fight against poverty, unemployment and social insecurity.

Where do we stand on the Western Front? The whole of the Cherbourg peninsula is now in our hands. An indestructible bridgehead has been created from which supplies and men and war material can flow as greater struggles open out. The fall of Caen represents a magnificent feat of arms, giving us a very important inland port with great strategical possibilities (which have been greatly increased by the character of the tactical and strategical bombing carried out by the British and American air forces prior to and during the actual landing in France).

How serious a blow Hitler has already received in France is demonstrated by the withdrawal of Rundstedt. Whatever new moves he may be connected with, Generals of this type are not removed when they have done what was expected from them.

The stage is set, as I write on July 15, for an immediate extension of the battles for the liberation of France, which have already created more favourable opportunities than ever before for other landings by British and American armies on the European coast.

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In Italy, despite the unfavourable character of the terrain on which our armies are fighting, steady progress continues to be made. Kesselring, despite his stubborn resistance, is facing complete defeat in Italy, and every day the political situation in the South becomes better as the Italian Government prepares to govern from Rome. This will have great political consequences in the North, where daily we see the anti-fascist forces increasing their sabotage, as the British and American armies of liberation draw nearer.

In any assessment of the position in France, there are three facts which must be taken into account. First, there is the appallingly bad weather in which all these initial operations have had to be carried through. Second, a part of our air power has been diverted to attacking the bases from which it is thought the flying bomb is launched against London and Southern England. Third, there are the splendid activities of the French resistance movement. The derailing of trains, blowing up of railway bridges and power stations, pitched battles with the Nazis, have all rendered enormous assistance to our forces in spite of the cunning propaganda that had been let loose among the French people about their towns and villages being destroyed by aerial bombardment. Let it be noted that these propaganda efforts were not unassisted by certain newspaper proprietors in London who permitted the publication of stories about the opposition of the people of Normandy and French women snipers, to which General Eisenhower had to give an authoritative denial.

The French people have responded to and justified every hope reposed in them; confirmed every statement made by French refugees who have come out of the country on special missions; endorsed every statement and forecast made in the Parliament of the Free French Liberation Movement in Algiers. Above all, the French Government represented by General de Gaulle has the unstinted support of the French people. These things are recognised in the decision of President Roosevelt, after years of hestitation, to give full recognition to the National Committee of Liberation as the *de facto* authority in France until such times as the whole French people have the opportunity to elect their government.

It is also important to remember the splendid role played by the people of Denmark at the vital moment of the opening of the Second Front in Western Europe, for it had a significance extending far beyond its own borders, one of the smallest States in Europe. The general strike that was organised and successfully carried through against all the might of the Gestapo terror in Denmark is indeed one of the most glorious episodes in this historic people's war. If ever there was a case of David hurling defiance at Goliath, it is here. This action required enormous courage and supreme confidence in the working-class. Both were abundantly justified by the events. A political blow was struck against Hitler that will continue to resound throughout occupied Europe for a long time to come, and will find an echo in Nazi Germany itself as it becomes more widely known. This example will be an inspiration for the German workers to follow.

A word about the struggle in Burma, which seems to have disappeared from the public mind. Gandhi's recent statement gives an unprecedented opportunity for reaching a settlement in regard to Indian affairs, which can have a profound effect on the whole South Asian campaign. A just settlement with the people of India can transform the position, in

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fact. It can put Britain right in the eyes of the world. It can remove one of Japan's most potent propaganda weapons against Britain. It can save Indian and British lives by shortening the war, ensuring the overcoming of famine, and restoring democracy in a country which, after struggling for generations to attain it, will know how to defend it. Finally, it can help enormously in assisting to solve some of the economic problems of Britain and the world after the war.

The time spent in achieving unity in Yugoslavia, in Italy, in France, has been abundantly justified by the events. Who can estimate fully the gains to the world in general, and to the British and Indian people in particular, if the Government now accepts Gandhi's new offer in the spirit it is made.

On the Eastern Front, the map tells its own story. It is a stern rebuke to the mendacious propaganda of people who, because the Red Army had not opened their new offensive on June 6, at once got to work to suggest that "Russia was now going to let us down." Of course, they had conveniently forgotten all that the Red Army had done for three years in bearing the full brunt of the Nazi armies alone.

The latest series of offensives have gone on at breakneck speed, but not because there is no fighting—the killed, wounded and number of Nazi prisoners tell their own story in this respect. The whole line of battle has been altered beyond recognition as compared with only two months ago, and it is not too much to hope that by the time these lines are read, Soviet soil will have been completely freed from all Nazi filth.

It is a wonderful tribute to the unity and power that comes to a nation whose economy and outlook are based on a socialist system of society; to the type of leaders it brings forward, the kind of people it trains and steels, the love of country and real patriotism it develops. But in the present hour of victory it is timely to remember all the suffering and sacrifice that has gone to bring about the present glorious outlook. The world will never know the extent of the agony of the Russian people. No tongue nor pen will ever be able fully to describe them. If we remember these things, they should help to steel and prepare us here in parts of Britain to which war may still come in even more unpleasant forms than those provided by the flying bomb.

A warning must be given against making contrasts between one front and another. They are all complementary, all playing their allotted role. They are all helping each other, and those who seek to make capital out of one as against another are helping to sow doubt and confusion at the very moment when the greatest struggles have yet to be waged, and when the maximum unity and clarity is going to be needed to see them through to the speediest victory.

For the Nazis will fight to the last man and the last ditch. If they are fighting as they have done before Minsk, Vilna, Cherbourg, Caen, they will fight even harder for Nazi territory, as the British, American, and Soviet armies press forward to destroy the German war machine right in its lair. We would rather over-estimate our enemy, and prepare accordingly, than under-estimate him and get some serious shocks. The Luftwaffe may yet turn out to be stronger than anticipated when the Battle of Germany opens out. Hitler has still millions of people to draw upon. There are still vast material resources at his disposal, still many political tricks to play and friends to help him play them in Britain and America.

There will still be efforts made to prove that one section of the German ruling class does not agree with the

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tactics of Hitler and company. But it will be a fight to the last. The youth trained in the degenerate philosophy of Nazism will fight like fanatics, although nothing can save them or their regime now that the whole forces of the United Nations are being brought into play fully and on time. How fanatical they are, our nurses and members of the R.A.M.C. who have to look after them in British hospitals, will testify.

In this connection, it is necessary to note the aim behind the use of the flying bomb. No one would suggest that by this lethal weapon Hitler can hope to win the war. But what he does hope is that it might help him to avoid losing the peace, and to be ready within a short space of time for new German forces to be able to try it all over again. The flying bomb was let loose at the very moment when in Lisbon and Madrid new peace manoeuvres were also let loose. And coincident with these, in the press of certain reactionary circles, a whole spate of anti-Soviet propaganda was also organised, having Poland as its theme, but the hope of dividing Britain and America from the Soviet Union as its aim.

The most serious aspect of the flying bomb is the fact that so much of our air power has had to be used to attack their bases instead of being used in direct war against the Nazi armies. In this respect Hitler has scored a slight success, for the more of his legions he can save in France, the greater the resistance he will make as the armies of the United Nations from three sides press forward to Berlin.

The people of London and Southern England stood firm in 1940 and 1941, and they are standing firm now. Like the people of Leningrad and Madrid, they know what war means and where their duty lies. They are ready to face anything that Hitler, in his crazy desperation, may yet launch against them. But they also want to see our maximum air power used in close association with our land forces to destroy Hitler's armies, for this is the only way of stopping for good all the deadly mechanical weapons that Nazism alone has thought fit to use against defenceless civilians.

There will be much to record of quiet and unassuming heroism when the full story of the war comes to be told, but there will be nothing greater than the way the people of Southern England and London have reacted as this flying bomb has come hurtling through the sky. Everyone knows that it must land somewhere, that someone will be killed, that some houses will be smashed to smithereens. They see it in the sky, knowing no human being is in it, that they cannot hit back at it, once it has left the coast area, without doing some form of serious damage. All this has produced feelings and reactions, varying from person to person, but it has also brought out the magnificent qualities of our civilian population: the workers in the factories, the dockers at the docks, the busmen on the roads, all continuing their work, determined that there shall be no interruption of production or transport; the doctors and nurses working night and day without a break, tending the wounded from flying bombs, on top of all their other work. This is the spirit that Hitler never reckoned with. It is also the spirit which will ensure that when the peace comes it is not going to be "the same as last time."

But the flying bomb is bringing with it its own nemesis. It is a very significant thing that is now taking place in the minds of millions of British people in regard to Germany. We are sometimes described as an easy-going race who find it difficult to believe all the stories we hear of conditions in other lands, and our Government gives the

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impression of conducting itself on "gentlemanly" lines in dealing with the Nazis. Certainly there has been some hesitation to believe all the dreadful stories of Nazi atrocities that have come from the Soviet Union. They have been thought in some cases to be "just the usual war propaganda" like we had last time, or "exaggerated."

The shooting of the R.A.F. officers started the first wave of hate and the flying bomb has completed it. There has been an enormous growth of hatred towards the Nazis in these last few weeks, and it is not confined to Southern England, for as evacuees have been sent all over the country, they have given their relatives and people where they stay some idea of what the flying bomb is like. This has let loose a wave of revulsion against the Nazis which is of the greatest importance in these decisive stages of the war. It is going to be the firm barrier which will prevent any patched-up peace, any succumbing to Hitler's peace intrigues or the shameful propaganda of sections of pacifists and defeatists who argue that "there is no difference between bombing Berlin and the flying bomb," and for whom a rounded phrase is more important than a mangled body.

This will strengthen the resolve expressed by Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin at Teheran, where they declared:—

> No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their planes from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and unceasing.

This is the guarantee that at the peace conference there will be no monkey tricks, no desires expressed to seek accommodation with German leaders that can avoid the complete destruction of the Fascists, root and branch. It is the backing also for achieving what the Teheran leaders stated to be their fundamental aim, namely :—

> As to peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognise fully the supreme responsibilities resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

Yes, justice is coming all right. Not simply in the form depicted in the unforgettable film of that name, not simply because of the atrocities inflicted by fascism on the Russian people, but because of what it has inflicted on the whole world since Hitler came to power in 1933. Now the whole foulness of fascism has been brought home to the British people in a sharper form than ever before. The appalling atrocities in Russia; the wiping out of every Jewish family, intellectual, scientist, doctor, and technician in occupied Europe; the shooting of R.A.F. officers; the use of the flying bomb today and maybe the more deadly rocket gun tomorrow—all are seen to be an inseparable part of the Nazi way. There can be no real peace for decent men and women, no real social progress while a vestige of fascism remains on the earth. It has been a hard lesson to learn, but it has been learnt at last.

Yes, justice is coming with many millioned feet in the form of the armies of the United Nations. They are fighting not only a military offensive, but an offensive for decency in human affairs, for the right of the peoples to determine their own way of life. They will avenge the nightmare of these latter years, and the loss of the flower of our young people, which will be felt in every aspect of our life.

Those of us who are on the Home Front must search our consciences. If we all ask "Is there anything extra that we can do?" we shall all find there is. In the factories, at the docks, at the railway depots, in the mines and shipyards, the aircraft and tank

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factories, at the hospitals helping alleviate the distress caused by evacuation, welcoming those we ought to be proud to receive into our midst, adopting wards and hospitals where the wounded fighting men are, keeping regular contact with the comrades in the Forces, defending the interests of their dependants, comforting the bereaved and seeing the nation fulfils its responsibilities to them, removing all selfishness and personal interests.

Only in this way can we put ourselves in tune with our fighting men. Never was the unity between the front and the rear so strong as now. The stronger it grows as we move nearer to the last decisive battles of the war, the more certain it is that the common people will not be cheated of the fruits of their common victory.

What is the basis of all the splendid new prospects that begin to open out before the peoples of the world? The unity and strength of the people behind their respective governments and especially the force and power of the labour movement. The present situation is, in fact, the answer to those workers who say they distrust the Government because of its attitude to post-war problems like Beveridge, housing, town and country planning, and full employment.

It is precisely the united efforts of every anti-fascist that has forced the Government to consider such questions at all. The Government realises better than anyone that there must be a positive post-war policy of economic and social advance in Britain if the people are to be satisfied. That lay at the bottom of Churchill's signature to Teheran. The fact that the proposals so far advanced do not satisfy the people should not make for distrust and despair, but for a renewal of that fighting strength through which united anti-fascist effort can guarantee the adoption of proposals based on the splendid opportunities for the future that now open out. What does this distrust reveal? A lack of faith in the working-class, and a mistaken belief that we can be thrown back again to where we were in 1939.

"What's going to happen afterwards?" is being determined now by the present events. It is not particular leaders acting in isolation who are making history; it is the combined efforts of all the people and governments acting in unison, making the common efforts and sacrifices, standing up to it on the battlefield as the people of London are standing up to the flying bomb on their city.

It is this on which we build for the future. Is there anyone so defeatist in outlook as to believe that all the splendid united efforts of these times are going to end the day the armistice is signed? The people have had enough experience in their united determined work in the handling and solving of the problems of the war in a multitude of ways—in Joint Production Committees, in civil defence, in local authorities, on local price committees and the like, in exercising their pressure upon the Government for closer relations with the Soviet Union resulting in the twenty years treaty being signed, in their constant demand for the opening of the Second Front—that they are not likely to leave the solution of the problems of peace to others. On the contrary, they will want to put their united strength and experience to handling and solving the problem of rebuilding Britain on the lines they want. Any attitude of defeatism would be giving into difficulties in advance. It has nothing in common with the fighting traditions of our movement.

It is that feeling we have to create in connection with every aspect of post-war policy. We must build on the growing power of the Trade Unions, Co-operatives, Labour Party and Communist Party, on the daily developing political consciousness of mil-

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lions of people, who for the first time are feeling their way to the labour movement, on the growth of the people's mass movements all over Europe.

What is the backbone of the resistance movement in Poland, Yugoslavia, France, Norway, Denmark, Greece, Czechoslovakia? The united democratic front. It will elect new democratic governments at the first opportunity, that will change politically the entire face of those parts of Europe they represent. They will open up opportunities for social progress that have never existed before. Are we to imagine that there will be no parallel developments in Britain and America? Of course not. Political advance never stops short at one country; and in the grim experience of the people's war against fascism, the foundations are being laid for a world-wide advance.

Do any of us really believe that the lads in the forces are doing all they are doing, just to come back and let some big monopolists here cheat them of the fruits of their victory? Not on your life.

It is time to wage war on this distrust and defeatism. We have already won bigger victories than we can yet grasp. We have successfully defended Socialism in the Soviet Union and democracy in the capitalist countries. With greater opportunities than ever for new forms of international co-operation and world-wide democratic advance, we can prepare the ground for big advances in every aspect of economic, political, and social matters and through this to Socialism according to the concrete circumstances in each capitalist country.

Of course, the private vested interests will fight against all this, will try to end all forms of State control, safeguard and strengthen their monopolies, prevent or restrict freedom for the colonial peoples. How far they succeed depends not on them, but on us.

Every social measure introduced by the Government so far has many serious weaknesses, but taken as a whole, they represent a great advance on anything that has ever come from a Parliament in which the Tories have the decisive majority. Does this mean a change of heart on the part of the Tories? No. It does mean a change in social forces, a political awakening and advance among the people of which even the Tories have to take some heed.

The touchstone of this political awakening is the idea and determination that if the whole resources of the nation can be organised for war, they shall be organised for peace. This is the spirit we should be inspiring in all our activities at the present time, for it is an essential part of the fight to win the war; and just as we have, because of the faith, unity, and power of the peoples of the United Nations, seen so many outstanding changes during the long five years' struggle to win the war, so if we do our job we can see even greater social changes in the peace that is now being won. To think and act otherwise would be a betrayal of all we have done in this struggle, and of all our lads have sacrificed that the people may live.

At no time in the history of Britain have the common people and our movement all over the country played such a great part in conducting affairs as in this people's war. In the days of peace they can and will play an even greater part. On this basis there will be strengthened the conviction and the desire that not only is socialism the final solution, but we and the people can both achieve it and make it work.

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The U.S. Presidency

by IVOR MONTAGU

NEXT November takes place the U.S. Presidential Election. What are the issues? There are two candidates. President Roosevelt will be standing, as Democratic candidate, for a fourth term. Thomas Dewey is the choice of the Republican Convention to oppose him.

If we study the Republican Party platform—a verbose hodge-podge of some 4,000 words—and take note of the sparse statements of Dewey, we might assume that on the most vital international issues of the day—all-out prosecution of the war till victory, post-war collaboration for security and prosperity—the candidates were agreed, and that the criticisms advanced by the Republicans were confined to personalities (''Roosevelt the ageing, tired dictator, Dewey the young and vigorous executive who can carry out more efficiently all that is good in the administration's plans'') and to home affairs.

This is an entirely misleading and false picture. It is surface appearance only. The kind of ground the Republican machine-politicians hope to be permitted to fight on.

The clue to the reality is to be found not in the paper declarations, but in the identity of the protagonists and the line-up of their supporters.

Roosevelt stands for the Teheran policy. Co-operation of U.S., Britain and U.S.S.R. till the unconditional surrender of the enemy, co-operation thereafter for the extirpation of fascism, the development of production on a world-scale for the benefit of all who may choose to enter ''the world family of democratic nations.''

It is, therefore, not in the least surprising that all enemies of this policy are stretched all-out to secure the election of his opponent.

That is the line-up and that is the issue in the elections, however much Roosevelt's enemies, to further their chance of vote-catching, may attempt to obscure it.

* * *

To understand American politics it is necessary to get rid of the idea that the two great political parties are groups organised to promote a particular policy, like, say, the political parties in Britain.

The basic characteristic of the U.S.A. is that it is a federal organism. The great national parties represent a conglomerate of local policies, a grand melange of quite separate local issues, which around their respective parish pumps fiercely transcend—in the loyalty they command from millions of voters—any national issues whatsoever: ''white supremacy'' in the South, farming prices in the West, tariffs for the manufacturing interests here, the ''pork barrel'' (i.e., what is openly called ''honest graft'') for the machine politicians everywhere.

Not the name or even the history of a Party, but the complex of contemporary historical accident, the personality of the contestants, determine in each given instance whether the Republican or the Democrat is the more progressive standard-bearer.

It is in this case the character, record and declared policy of President Roosevelt that gives its character to the election.

Roosevelt stands for Teheran. In his Presidency great benefits have been won for the common people. He has prevented, under great provocation, the attempts of labour-baiters to make inroads on the rights of labour, he has constricted the war-time raiding by big business on the public purse, his Fair Employment Practice agency

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has become a weapon in the struggle to secure human rights for Negroes. His public declarations have looked forward to the post-war organisation of social security on the grandest scale.

Hence against him (and for Dewey) is every friend of Hitler, every would-be destroyer of the Soviet Union, every advocate of the divine right of unbounded greed, every labour-baiter, every nigger-hater.

These enemies are not, of course, in the least restricted to Republicans. Indeed, among Republicans will, in this election, be found many supporters of Roosevelt. There are Republican "Fourth-Term" clubs. In one primary (i.e., State election at which voters indicate the presidential candidate they prefer their party to select) the name Roosevelt had been written in on so many Republican ballot-papers as to make him second choice only to Dewey of the Republican Party followers in that State.

The enemies include the reactionary and near-fascist types everywhere, among Democrats as well as Republicans, the Norman Thomas self-styled Socialists and Trade Union gangsters and boss props in the ranks of labour.

All are out to smash the Roosevelt policies, and the election is the opportunity.

* * *

We have remarked that there are extreme reactionaries among the Democrats. These include men of the type of Wheeler, leading isolationist, and the Southern "poll-taxers"—or men whose electorate, owing to a tax imposed on voting to hinder Negro votes, often amounts to fewer than ten per cent. of the adults in the state—of whom Dies, of red-baiting committee fame, is an example. Among the Irish politicians, who are traditionally Democrat in the Eastern States, there are many who follow a Vatican-fascist line in foreign politics. From these elements sprang an attempt, first, to prevent Roosevelt from being selected as Democratic candidate, and then, when this failed to encourage the Southern States to "bolt the ticket," i.e., set up a Third Party candidate to split the vote.

This scheme has likewise misfired, owing in part to the strength of the Democratic tradition in these states, in part to the fact that even here Roosevelt enjoys too great support to be openly defeated in the local Democratic primaries.

Indeed, some of the sponsors of this rebellion have themselves lost their Congress seats as result of C.I.O. political organisation of opposition to them among the workers whom war industry has brought into their hitherto agricultural constituencies.

A drive for a third party farmer-labour candidate, sponsored by Trotskyists, and Norman Thomas, John Lewis, etc., which would have been bound, in present circumstances, to have played into the hands of the worst reactionaries by confusing labour and subtracting progressive votes from Roosevelt, has been frustrated by the political sagacity of both C.I.O. and the Communist Party, in resolutely setting their faces against a third party today and calling for support to progressive candidates irrespective of political label. Thomas, no doubt, will stand as usual, but fortunately isolated and discredited. It is certain that not only the C.I.O., but the vast majority of the A.F.L. vote, will be cast behind Roosevelt.

Reactionary Republicans and poll-tax Democrats have formed an unholy alliance to hinder every effort to get a big and representative vote on election day. This is eloquent testimony to their knowledge that the majority of the American people favour a fourth term for Roosevelt, and that a small poll would increase the chance of his enemies.

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Despite a pretence of opposition to the poll-tax, which operates to restrict Negro votes in particular and the votes of the indigent in general, and a hypocritical plank in the Republican platform proposing a constitutional amendment to outlaw it (the Republicans know this would take a generation to enact) the Republicans in the Senate, by refusing the closure, allowed Southern Democrats to talk out a bill which would have stopped the poll-tax right away. Then the Southern Democrats joined the Republicans in preventing passage through Congress of a bill enabling soldiers, as a national right, to vote in the Presidential election. Under protest that this "interfered with State rights," they secured passage of a bill providing for absentee voting only in accordance with cumbersome arrangements sanctioned by each State, which will effectively deny the vote to the vast majority of men and women in the forces. Reactionaries of both parties are attacking the campaign of the C.I.O. to remind and induce workers whose transference to war industry has resulted in a changed address to register for the vote at their new address; they go so far as to incite the radio stations to refuse broadcasting time to the political committee.

But with the failure of the third-party plot, the main "down-Roosevent" scheme has necessarily to transfer itself to use of the Republican Party candidature in a straight fight.

To appreciate the degree to which this is the function of this year's Republican candidature it is necessary to understand who and what Dewey is, and not to be misled by the glamour deliberately attached to him—as it has been to many another figure in past times—"muscling-in" to the political racket—by publicity as a racket-buster.

The Republican Party machine is today largely dominated by its extreme reactionary, anti-Soviet, anti-labour, big business section; and Dewey is its chosen champion

Willkie was rejected because he had shown the machine-men that he was hard to manage. Open isolationists, of the type of Bricker (significantly selected as Vice-Presidential candidate) were not used simply because the machine felt that, with the present temper and experience of the nation, their records made them too dangerous. No one is enthusiastic for Dewey (public opinion polls show 90 per cent. of Democrats favour Roosevelt, but, even just prior to the skilfully stage-managed convention invitation to Dewey, only 58 per cent. of Republicans approved him). Dewey was carefully groomed to become the one possible candidate, on the basis of a shrewd and careful plan of management. Advising him to pretend not to be a candidate his backers enabled him through this fiction to refrain from committing himself on the issues of the day.

Careful observation of his record as Governor, however, which includes allowing investigation of rackets in Democratic districts, showing less enthusiasm about similar investigation in Republican districts, cutting down expenditure on education, refusing pardons in case of injustice against radicals, setting up committees to investigate anti-Semitism but hedging on their recommendations, help to sabotage the soldiers' vote, reveals him as a typical careerist and faithful servant of the reactionary masters of his party.

A measure of his readiness to play up to them is to be seen in his one and only contribution on foreign politics prior to a few months back—a denunciation of Roosevelt for having betrayed America by opening diplomatic relations with U.S.S.R.

Hoover long ago picked Dewey as his favoured candidate, though keeping it as discreetly quiet as possible. The open pro-fascist gang—*Chicago*

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Tribune McCormick and his clique—carried on a sham fight against Dewey until selection, then immediately switched to full support.

Indeed, the whole careful build-up for Dewey has been one in which the ruthless Republican political wire-pullers and business monopolists, who long ago fixed on Dewey as their man, because he combined the virtues (in their eyes) of being obedient to them without being too much publicly known as such, have tried to keep the connection dark.

It is clear enough now. The keynote speeches of the Convention that endorsed him were an attack by Hoover on Teheran and the Soviet Union, and a diatribe against the President by Clair Luce (wife of the man who runs *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*), who only a few hours before had denounced the U.S. breach of relations with Finland, declaring that Finland was just as much fighting for its freedom as Belgium or Greece and just as ruthlessly attacked by an aggressor as the U.S.A. itself had been at Pearl Harbour.

While here is an opinion on the cynical and disruptive platform chosen by Dewey's Convention:—

". . . quite apart from its intentional ambiguity on foreign policy, (it) is as reckless and as mischievous as irresponsible politicians dared to make it. . . . It is an invitation . . . to plunge the country into the chaos of an uncontrolled inflation of prices and wages . . . (it) will almost certainly do much to provoke strikes and labour disputes in the near future.

"There is not one line, not one word in the whole platform which recognises honestly the need of civilian control and sacrifice in wartime. Only the soldiers are expected to sacrifice their convenience to the nation."

This is not the verdict of a Democrat, or even of a member of the new Communist Political Association. It was written by Walter Lippmann in the *New York Herald Tribune*, by a Republican journalist in a Republican paper.

The time-serving Dewey's opinion of the same platform is: "on the whole an able compromise."

* * *

It can be predicted with certainty that the contest will be run with maximum disruption and recklessness on the part of Dewey's backers. But it can be expected with assurance that their worst efforts will not succeed.

Teheran is in the interest of the whole world, of the American people no less than any other. And the economic co-operation conceived at Teheran is in the interest, not only of the small man in America, but of those groups in industry that are far-sighted enough to link their fortune to continued production and steady trade, and are not blinded by golden-egg-laying-goose-killing greed for short-time maxima.

The productive forces of America have increased to a fantastic degree. Ninety thousand million dollars' worth of annual production of goods for the war market will be available in U.S.A. when peace comes, Earl Browder estimates, for transformation into increased production of goods for the peace market. This is a powerful force, tempting to the greedy monopolist to use in uncontrolled beating down of competition in world trade. But what then? It is a force so big that its uncontrolled use can render unstable every post-war international plan and lead straight to new general crisis worse than that of 1929. National unity, international comradeship, planning on the most careful scale, is going to be needed to handle such forces to get the best use of them and avoid the disasters of unemployment spreading like a plague in U.S. and the world.

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When the Republican Party, with its record of opposition to all profit controls and other anti-inflation measures, declares in the programme: "We shall devote ourselves to re-establishing liberty at home. . . . We shall take government out of competition with private industry and terminate rationing, price-fixing and all other emergency powers . . . (we) shall avoid federalisation of government activities . . . shall avoid delegations of legislative and judicial powers to administrative agencies," then the American people understand very well who is complaining and whose lust for unbridled licence is threatening both war effort and planned post-war collaboration.

They remember Roosevelt's list of the Second Bill of Rights on which the American people are agreed (Message to Congress of January 12, 1944): "The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation; the right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation; the right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living; the right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition by monopolies at home and abroad; the right of every family to a decent home; the right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health; the right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment; the right to a good education." And they know that these things, which are the flesh and blood of real liberty, cannot be realised without the protection against rapacity afforded by organisation and regulation.

Americans are not fools. It was on the basis of his experience with Americans that Lincoln noted the impossibility of fooling all of the people all the time. The opponents of Teheran will find that you cannot fool enough of them on election day.

Government Post-war Policy

by JOHN GOLLAN

WITH the publication of the White Papers on "Employment" and the "Control and use of Land," and in the light of the subsequent debates and discussion it is not difficult to find an underlying pattern indicating the basic approach of the Government to post-war problems.

The Employment paper marks a departure in admitting Government responsibility for maintaining employment. The importance of this cannot be overestimated, and, as the White Paper states, "involves a new approach and a new responsibility for the State.

It is one thing, however, for the State to assume this new responsibility, but quite another to make it work. The complete inadequacy of the two main proposals: (1) public investment in a pending slump and encouragement of private investment; (2) the manipulation of insurance contributions to increase consumption power in a slump and decrease it in a boom, have been widely commented upon.

Both in the White Paper and in Bevin's speech there is the admission that the greatest factor for economic instability is private investment, but, as Sir William Beveridge, on July 2, remarked, the Government in its White Paper "were fighting unemployment produced by the private enterprise system, which they did not

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touch.'' Private enterprise will merely ''be encouraged'' to follow the Government's public investment example in combating the slump, along with ''consideration'' by the Government of deferred tax payments and other similar devices. As Bevin put it, the proposals did not ''raise the question whether industry should be publicly or privately owned; the scheme would operate whatever the ownership of industry would be.'' Sir John Anderson reiterated that the White Paper did not ''take sides'' on this issue, but added the growing opinion had to be reckoned with ''against allowing certain services, certain activities, which are vital for the life of the community, to be carried on for private gain.'' Alongside this has got to be placed the assurance that after the immediate difficult post-war period the basic war controls will be abolished. Further, regarding the restrictive activities of monopolies and combines acknowledged in the White Paper, activities which may well wreck any employment plan, there is merely the reference to the need to collect information about such bodies with the possibility of ''appropriate action to check practices'' which prove undesirable. Dealing with the ownership controversy, the *Daily Herald* of June 23 said that the White Paper ''is remarkable for its open-mindedness on the subject of public control of industry,'' and the Labour Press Service regarded Sir John Anderson's point quoted above on public ownership as a Tory tribute to Socialism. The issue is, of course, not the superiority of Socialism over capitalism, but whether without some measure of control of private investment by the Government and some measure of extension of national ownership the Government's proposals can work at all.

In confining Government expenditure and activity to public works of a postponable nature (allowing for housing and rebuilding to proceed immediately after the war) this possible field is too small to do more than lessen by a few points the unemployment problem. Normally central and local Government expenditure does not much exceed £100 millions per annum.

As no figures of probable Government expenditure on this item are given one cannot judge what is in the Government's mind; but the main points of future Budget policy are stated. Bevin joined with the Treasury as a defender of ''reasonably sound finance,'' in other words, in balancing the Budget over a number of years. Not only could this well lead to the Government stopping expenditure before a condition of full employment was reached, but by requiring that public expenditure be confined to what can be raised by public loans or extra taxation, it touches upon the issue of taxation policy. In the debate Sir John Anderson made the point that unproductive debt might be written off while productive debt was increasing; and that, while interest charges, being in the nature of transfer payments, did not mean an extra burden on the community, ''nevertheless, heavy taxation had a cramping effect on enterprise.'' This ''burden'' of debt theme is catching; even Mr. Bevin in his public speech at Birmingham (2.7.44) said ''. . . we are broke, it's no use beating about the bush; we have spent everything in this struggle and I'm glad we have.'' Yet productive capacity in the country during the war has risen by 40 per cent. and could well rise further, thus greatly increasing the national income as a whole.

All this is closely linked with the issue of the national income. The White Paper argues that for its proposals to have full effect there must be stability of wages and prices. On wages two exceptions to this are made: the

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removal of anomalies within or between industries and "increase in the general level of wages must be related to increased productivity due to increased efficiency and effort." Employers are likewise enjoined to seek reward for "enterprise" rather in larger output than in higher prices.

Nothing is said, however, about the present division of the national income. As a proportion of the national income rent interest and profit (excluding National Debt interest) has risen from 37.6 per cent. in 1938 to 39.9 per cent. in 1943, while the wages and salaries portion has fallen from 62.4 per cent. to 60.1 per cent. (see Cmd. 6520, "National Income and Expenditure, 1938-43). Profits during the war have advanced by 84 per cent., wages by 68 per cent. However, in relation to the latter, prices, according to the Treasury Index, have advanced by 41 per cent., and to recalculate this index, adding indirect taxes and subtracting Government food subsidies by 55 per cent. The White Paper would maintain these fundamental divisions of the national income. As Kalecki puts it in the Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Statistics: "It follows by implication from paragraphs 16 and 49-52 that they (the Government) are not in favour of any increase in the present share of wages in the gross national income before taxation."

Expansion of the national economy is not dealt with at all. Throughout the whole document the emphasis is on, not a steadily expanding economy, but a "stable" economy. Stable levels of prices and wages, stability of investment, public expenditure when private expenditure falls off, manipulation of consumption by means of insurance contributions, etc., but no scheme of an expanding economy, increasing wages and levels of consumption, shorter hours, a great capital reconstruction of British industry, a long overdue issue, especially in the capital goods sections, etc. In para. 78 the question of national income is discussed from the point of view of the total debt the country can carry. Here it is pointed out that for falling population reasons, we cannot get an increase in real national income solely from an increase in the number of income-earning persons, but that continued progress in technical efficiency as the dominating factor in real national income growth can offset these problems. "If British industry carries into the peace the inventive power, technical skill and adaptability which it has shown during the war, we shall be able in due time to carry our burdens without a sense of excessive strain."

This gloomy picture, of course, only adds point to our previous argument. The technical reconstruction of industry here envisaged, is on the smallest scale, and is conceived as a means to carry the "burden" of debt rather than to advance the entire social condition of the people.

Summing up the Government's approach, therefore, one can say: the political developments of the war against Fascism, the need for a post-war policy based on Teheran as against the disastrous interwar policy, has forced the recognition of the need for State responsibility to deal with the "excesses" of normal capitalist trade. The proposed measures to combat the slumps are to operate within the traditional framework of private property, "sound" finance, the existing divisions of the national income. At most it is an attempt, severely limited in scope, to obtain a "satisfactory" level of employment, a "stable" economy; a steadily expanding economy is not envisaged.

Because of this, any prospects of full employment are sacrificed. As *The Times* put it, "Even the phrase 'full employment,' although freely used by ministers, nowhere appears in the White Paper itself—indeed, in places

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the emphasis seems to be laid rather upon a stable than upon a high level of employment, upon levelling out fluctuations in economic activity rather than upon levelling them up'' (20.6.44). While representing an advance, says Kalecki, ''it does not amount to a complete programme of full employment.''

If the White Paper on Employment Policy can be summed up as above, the paper on ''The Control of Land Use'' attempts to solve planning problems in the framework of the private property in land which has created them.

It is 33 years since the first Housing and Town Planning Act was passed, to be followed by the Acts of 1919, 1925, 1932 and 1943. While, since 1909, Planning schemes affecting nearly half the area of Great Britain have been covered by resolutions of local authorities (the first stage in a town planning scheme), only 3 per cent. of the area of the country is covered by operative schemes to this day. Negative character of existing powers, extremely complicated delaying procedure and the fact that the private landowners can claim compensation from the authorities administering the acts have been the root reasons for the failure. Thus, the private ownership of land is the issue and nationalisation the obvious solution.

This much was admitted by the Uthwatt Committee, but rejected for political reasons. In its place they proposed as ''the essential minimum'' the acquisition by the State of all development rights for unbuilt-on land outside town areas, the State buying the land as and when the time comes for it to be built on, then developing it itself or leasing to a private developer. The State would assess the global value of all development rights and would pay compensation in proportion to individual valuation for loss of development value. For the town areas it recommended greater powers of compulsory acquisition of land by the planning authority, with a simplified procedure and a ''Betterment'' levy by the State of 75 per cent. on any future increase in the annual site value of the developed land in five-year periods and assessments. In an Interim Report, the Committee had recommended compensation for public acquired land not to exceed March, 1939, values; a central Planning Authority; reconstruction areas (or bomb-damaged areas) to be defined and developed as a whole, with powers of compulsory acquisition of land. The last two points were covered by the appointment of the Minister of Town and Country Planning and the Government Bill on blitzed and blighted areas. The White Paper dealt with the other points.

''It is not proposed,'' openly states the White Paper, ''that a single master plan should be devised by the Government and imposed on the country, nor that the existing pattern of land ownership or land use should be swept away.'' It is little wonder, therefore, that the defenders of property, the National Federation of Property Owners, hailed it as ''a policy which all, except those of extreme views,'' can approve. While this description could, perhaps, be applied to the *Daily Herald* condemnation of the Paper as ''a blend of ambiguity with gross reaction,'' it could hardly be applied to *The Times*' claim that it was ''a meagre and unsatisfying document.'' In place of the Uthwatt proposals the White Paper proposes retention of the land in private ownership subject to control of use by licence. A betterment tax on land licensed for development of 80 per cent. in the difference of the land value with the benefit of the permission and its value if permission had been refused. Thus, the handsome rake-off 20 per cent. of the betterment tax is left as ''economic incentive'' to the owner. This better-

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ment tax will be reduced by a "suitable set-off" in cases where compensation would have been paid if development rights had been refused. Where refusal of permission to develop results in loss of values already accrued at March 31st, 1939, fair compensation will be paid.

A new single central body—the Land Commission—will take out of the hands of the local authorities and centralise the finances of betterment and compensation and by this means the proceeds of the Betterment Tax on one landlord will be used entirely for compensating another, both to balance over a reasonable period. For an initial period of five years no compensation will be paid while an Expert Committee estimates betterment and considers compensation claims, in three categories;—rural land with substantially no development value in 1939, individual plots in this category assumed to have no development value, although there will be provision to prove the contrary; unbuilt-on land, which it might be assumed could be built on later — here individual valuation will be made; built-up land valuation will only be made where compensation is payable under the 1932 Act. The 75 per cent. levy on increases in site values in built-up areas was rejected.

Two special articles in *The Times*, July 4 and 5, analyse the Government reasons for thus rejecting Uthwatt. They reach the conclusion that the Uthwatt proposals are rejected by the White Paper "largely, it may now be inferred, because they involve too considerable a measure and a promise of public ownership of the land."

Big political issues are raised for the labour movement, not only by the implications of the two White Papers but by their method of presentation. Both are Coalition documents to which the Labour Ministers in the Government are committed. Mr. Bevin, in introducing the Employment Policy, said "he wanted to ask the House whether a common objective might not be adopted to carry them through the transition on into a better economic state after the war." "Continuity in handling these issues by Governments was essential," said Sir John Anderson, "that was why it had been important to frame a policy which would be so far as possible independent of purely party consideration." In its foreword to the White Paper on Land, the Government states—"they believe that the collaboration of all Parties in a National Government offers a fresh opportunity for finding some common measure of agreement on a question which has in the past divided public opinion."

Only one aspect of the matter has actually reached legislation stage—The Planning Bill for Blitzed and Blighted Areas, and already the reaction to this has been formidable. For the White Paper on the land not yet debated the reception will be drastic. The debate of the Employment Policy did not have a division on the understanding that all that was being done was to endorse the Government's responsibility for employment.

The sacrifice and effort of the British people to destroy Fascism is inspired by the conviction that out of their victory over Fascism the road shall lead to a new advance over privilege and vested interest at home. They see in the concord at Teheran the guarantee for lasting peace, international co-operation for reconstruction and for the promotion of prosperity based on the friendly co-operation of democratic nations.

They want similar advance on the home front—housing, health, education, full employment and rising standards, the curbing of the monopolies, planned and rebuilt towns unhindered by landowners and speculators.

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It is clear that these proposals of the Government on employment and land will not satisfy the people, nowhere come near their expectations. In drawing up their White Paper the Government had to acknowledge the instability of the capitalist system, long pointed out by Socialists and the suffering it has brought the common people. In drafting the paper on Land, the crippling hold of landlordism on the development of the country was admitted. But the refusal to exercise control, to modify private ownership even in a limited way confines the Government proposals at most to the modification of a slump, while the land proposals are disastrous, falling far short of Uthwatt, which received nation-wide progressive support.

These unsatisfactory proposals are advanced in the name of national unity. National unity has been the only basis for the successful prosecution of the war against the Fascist enemy and in making victory possible. Now, when the final giant blows are being struck on all fronts, that unity is more than ever necessary in the great last exertions to achieve final victory. The movement has not only supported this, but has built it up against all pro-Munich elements and the obstacles of strongly entrenched Tory reaction and monopolist obstruction. But now it must make clear to the Government that the name of national unity cannot be used to put across these meagre proposals hedged in by the defence of privilege, private property and power. The movement, on the contrary, must fight for real proposals which can command nation-wide support, which can work and advance the interest of the common people.

Can there be such a programme for Britain drawn up in the framework of the brilliant international prospects opened up by the Teheran Agreement and victory over Fascism? A practical programme for the post-war, satisfying our immediate needs, industrial experience and possibilities? The Communist Party has advanced "Britain for the People" as a common discussion basis for such a programme. As opposed to the Government White Paper of a high level of employment "Britain for the People" advocates a programme of full employment and makes the necessary minimum proposals to guarantee this. These are (*a*) Continuation of the essential war-time controls adapted to peace-time conditions, with Trade Union participation from workshop to National Controls. (*b*) A National Planning authority to develop basic industries, public work schemes and bring new industries to special areas. (*c*) Nationalisation of the coal, power, transport and steel industries. These are basic key industries supplying materials and services to all others and in State hands can influence all others. (*d*) Nationalisation of the Bank of England, the five Joint Stock Banks and insurance companies, thereby placing the State in the position to control investment. (*e*) Public ownership of the land to ensure the basis for town planning, urban and agricultural development. (*f*) A taxation policy of increasing taxes on the rich and a reduction of income tax on wages and indirect taxation, a reduction of the National Debt by some measure such as a capital levy on the rich.

The essential differences between these proposals and the approach of the White Paper are obvious. They would not end monopoly capitalism, but they would make the necessary, though limited, inroads into absolute capitalist control as to enable a determined government to take the economy of the country in hand, to make for a steadily expanding national economy based on Teheran, a wide programme of social advance and rising standards, details of which are laid out

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in the various sections of "Britain for the People." There are many points of similarity between that immediate programme and that of the Labour Party which called for the retention of war-time controls, control of the Bank of England, capital issues and capital exports, a national development plan and investment Board, public ownership, as a minimum, of fuel and power, iron and steel and transport, and international Trade Agreements. It will command support from the overwhelming majority of the people, the foremost economists and thinkers, small and medium business men, wide sections of church opinion and liberal thought.

The far-reaching problems facing the British people after victory can only be solved on the basis of unity and by ending the stranglehold of Tory reaction which has dominated the nation for the past generation.

To fulfil these tasks the unity of the nation must be carried to new heights. The leadership of the nation must pass into the hands of the labour and progressive forces. This programme can form the basis not only of effective action, but for the political rallying and unity of all democratic progressive anti-fascist forces of the nation to establish a government out of the next General Election capable of defeating all reactionary obstruction.

Democracy in Latin America

by ANN KELLY

IT is significant that the tardy recall "for consultations" of Sir David Kelly, British Ambassador in the Argentine, is coincident with reports of a sensational character from that country. Charges that Argentine is "arming feverishly" in preparation for possible aggression against her neighbours have been made recently by two leaders of Argentina's Trade Union confederation (U.G.T.)—Enrique Rodriguez, the general secretary and Nicasio Calzada, a member of the Executive.

Calzada said:—

Information reaching me from Argentina discloses that all metallurgical plants are producing only war materials and are completely controlled by government commissions. Since nobody is threatening Argentina, the only purpose of her feverish war planning is aggression. It is obvious that Argentina is not arming to fight the Axis. The San Martin factory at Avellaneda is producing guns: other plants are producing shells and other war materials. Our labour movement feels that an immediate investigation of Argentina's secret war plans is in order.

The number of Argentine army effectives has been trebled: all Argentine shipyards have been put under government control; the entire transport system is under army control; one year of obligatory military service for students has been established, and large quantities of landing-craft are reported to have been built. A recent number of *Himno Nacional*, an underground newspaper published in Buenos Aires discloses that the army has taken over 525 tons of rubber from the total stock of 593 tons.

Argentina's "Hispanic policy" (the new coat of arms bears the inscription: "United Provinces Rio Plata") is underlined by Enrique Rodriguez's exposure of secret decrees issued between June and October last year, revealing an astounding military expenditure of one billion dollars on armaments in Argentina.

These disclosures make more significant the speech made in Buenos Aires by Colonel Juan Peron, Argentine's War Minister, last month, when, according to the *Daily Herald* report,

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Peron, "to the astonishment and alarm of neighbouring States," talked of war as an inevitable social phenomenon and urged the preparation of a "structure of total war" in Argentina.

The fascist Argentine Government in the extreme south, paralleled by Mexico's fascists, are, perhaps, the most blatant enemies of the democratic upsurge in Latin America.

Mexico's Fascists

The international ramifications of the "New Christian Order" and its basic aims, are perhaps most clearly exposed in the subversive movements of a country vastly different to Argentina—namely, Mexico.

Mexico's fascist groups came into being precisely because the Mexican Revolution is strong—dangerously strong! Many directors of these fascist organisations are members of the dispossessed hacendado (landed proprietors) class, whilst the liberal-minded Archbishop of Mexico, Luis M. Martinez, has had to publicly rebuke and repudiate many priests who are giving active assistance. Today there is an open split in the Catholic church of Mexico on this question.

The principal fascist groups are the nationalist Sinarquist Union and the Nationalist Action Party, both substantially aided by Nazi, Falange and Coughlinite leaders. The Sinarquist Union, the largest fascist organisation in Mexico, was founded on May 23, 1937, by a group of Jesuit intellectuals. The Sinarquist organisers seek to recruit a cell of five in every village, each member recruiting another five. With a hierarchic system, members are organised in military formations and given military training. The slogan of the Sinarquistas is "Faith and country; long live Christ the King," the cry of the fanatic Cristeros who led the bloody counter-revolutionary civil war in Mexico in the 'twenties. Boasting that they are "aggressively anti-revolutionary," their newspaper has frequently stated that its mission is to "Save Mexico from Bolsheviks, gringos, masons, protestants and Jews." Main proponent in Mexico of the "New Christian Order," the Sinarquist Union unsuccessfully sought in recent months to set up a rival central labour body, the "Confederation of Catholic Workers."

In June the Mexican progressive forces scored a major victory when the President banned all meetings of the National Sinaiquist Union, and indicted the editor of its official journal for subversive activities. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the C.T.A.L.. hailed this as opening "a new phase in Mexico's life."

Democratic upsurge

Mexico and Argentina alike exemplify that native fascism fears the growing strength of the democratic and progressive forces in Latin-America. The spinal column of democratic unity throughout the continent is the four-and-a-half-million strong Confederation of Latin - American Workers (C.T.A.L.), founded in Mexico City in 1939 and now the strongest organised labour force in Latin-America. The remarkable growth of the C.T.A.L. is best evidenced in the fact that as recently as 1941 it was estimated that the total number of Latin-American workers organised into trade unions was 1,800,000 out of a population of 130,000,000. Comprising sixteen national federations, it represents every Latin-American labour organisation except small anarchist bodies in Chile and Argentina.

The largest bodies affiliated to the C.T.A.L. are the Mexican Confederation of Workers (C.T.M.) with one million members, the Cuban Confederation of Workers with 500,000 ; the General Confederation of Workers of Argentina, 400,000; and the Chilean Confederation of Workers, 350,000. Despite the poverty of Latin-American

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workers, there has been virtually no case of strike-breaking in five years.

The basic policies of the C.T.A.L. remain threefold: defence of the democratic form of government in America and in the entire world; struggle against fascism; the material and social progress of the workers and common people of Latin-America.

The support of the C.T.A.L. for the war against fascism is best summed up in the words of their president and founder, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the great Mexican leader, who also founded the Mexican C.T.M. in his recent greeting to American workers:—

The workers of Latin-America are working on the front of production of strategic materials and foodstuffs. They have constantly offered their military collaboration, expressing readiness to send a great brigade of volunteers of the twenty sister nations of this hemisphere.

They also struggle against the appeasers and against the fifth column agents in their countries. They continue strenuously to build in the conscience of the peoples of Latin-America the unity of all the peoples of the American continent so that our nations from Canada to Argentina can co-operate in the restoration of democracy where it has been extinguished by fascism.

Latin-American Labour is strongest and most united in those countries where democracy functions most freely, particularly in Mexico, Cuba, Colombia and Chile, where trade union leaders are members of Parliament. In Chile the trade unions participate independently with pro-democratic parties in the Popular Front which has swept all recent Chilean elections. Similarly in Uruguay, following a 1942 Unity Congress, the united strength of Uruguayan Labour was thrown into the presidential elections and all pro-Labour, pro-United Nations candidates were elected.

Inter-American Trade Union Unity

Toledano has always worked indefatigably, not only to achieve inter-American Trade Union unity, but also to establish links with the international trade union movement. Declaring that "Only Labour unity can mobilise Latin-America against the Axis," as early as January, 1943, he visited the United States to negotiate with the C.I.O., A.F.L. and Canadian Unions for the holding of the first Pan-American Labour Congress in history. Warning against the new tactic of the Latin-American fifth column, Toledano has repeatedly warned United States Trade Unionists:—

"This new idea of 'Hispanidad' has been brought forward to divide the people of Latin-America from the United States. We are children of America just as you are. The fifth column attempts to divide us into Anglo-Saxon and Spanish America. We oppose to their idea of 'Hispanidad' the new idea of 'Americanidad.'"

Whilst the A.F.L. leadership has cold-shouldered the repeated attempts of the C.T.A.L. to establish bonds of unity, unjustifiably attacking the C.T.A.L. as being "Communist controlled," the six-million strong C.I.O has appointed a nine-man Pan-American Committee with the object of establishing closer fraternal relations between the workers of all the Americas. This workers' vigilance committee has proved invaluable in cementing a workers' "Good Neighbour" policy. Its first major achievement was trade union participation in the McGruder Commission sent from the United States to Bolivia to enquire into the action of the U.S. Ambassador Pierre Boal, whom the C.T.A.L, and U.S. trade unions charged with intervention on behalf of the Bolivian tin mine owners to keep Bolivian workers in a condition of serfdom. The McGruder commission made successful recommendations to improve the lot of the Bolivian workers, and thanks to this Good-Neighbourly intervention the recent

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2.5 cents per pound tin price increase granted by the United States Metals Reserve Corporation to Bolivian tin magnates has been exclusively earmarked for the improvement of the working and living conditions of the Bolivian workers.

The Confederation of Bolivian Workers expressed its "thanks to Franklin D. Roosevelt, to the Metal Reserve Corporation, to the C.I.O., A.F.L., C.T.A.L. and all other Labour organisations which intervened in the price negotiations."

The Bolivian coup d'etat last December was the first major success of the "New Christian Order" conspiracy against Pan-Americanism. It was led by the M.N.R., an intensely nationalist anti-U.S. movement known to have had connections with the German Embassy in Bolivia. Its leaders were involved in a pro-Nazi plot in the summer of 1941 which resulted in the expulsion of the Nazi Minister, Ernest Wendler. The M.N.R. newspaper, *La Calle*, was until recently on the U.S. blacklist as a pro-Nazi paper.

Following concerted pressure by the North and South American trade union movements, popular opinion succeeded in forcing the British and American governments to support the majority of Latin-American states in withholding "recognition" from the Bolivian junta until concrete evidence was forthcoming that it supported the United Nations in the war against the Axis.

The resulting diplomatic and economic pressure proved highly successful. The Bolivian government has reluctantly toed the line and following an amnesty of political prisoners coupled with the expulsion of seventy prominent Nazis holding key positions in the Bolivian economy, the C.I.O. and C.T.A.L. have supported conditional "recognition" of Bolivia. This "recognition" is regarded as a "convenient means for consolidating democracy" and correspondingly weakens Argentina's sphere of influence.

Further democratic successes in recent weeks can be recorded in Central America. Labour is giving full support to the new Ecuador government. The general strike called by the National Committee of Ecuador Workers (E.N.T.E.) in support of the recent revolt organised by the Democratic Alliance with the aid of the army and navy was credited with being the main cause of the quick collapse of the reactionary government of the former President, Carlos Arroyo Del Rio. The E.N.T.E. secretary, Pedro Antonio Saad, is a member of the new government.

Other reactionary dictators overthrown by popular revolts include General Tiburcio Carias Andino, dictator of Honduras, who "resigned" following a successful passive resistance movement led by Honduran workers and students, and General Jorge Ubico, dictator of Guatemala, who was forced out of office following a general strike in which over 260,000 were involved.

U.S. trade unionists, in conjunction with the C.T.A.L., have repeatedly protested against the anti-Labour drives in the Argentine and Paraguay. In January, "to decide upon necessary action concerning the serious crisis in South America," Toledano invited the C.I.O., A.F.L. and Canadian Labour to send delegates to an emergency enlarged Executive Council meeting of the C.T.A.L. in Montevideo, Uruguay. In his invitation Toledano forthrightly stated that Argentina's rupture of relations with the Axis did not lessen the danger emanating from Argentine fascism, and that the democracies should no longer maintain relations with Argentina until civil rights were restored.

Immense enthusiasm was aroused in Latin-America by this important conference, and it is significant that the

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Vice-President of Uruguay, Alberto Guani, who also heads the Inter-American Committee for Emergency Political Defence publicly paid tribute to the meeting. In addition to Latin-American delegations from nine republics, including Bolivia and Chile, delegates attended from the suppressed Argentine labour movement which has created a "Committee of Workers Unity Against Nazism" embracing some 365 individual Argentine unions affiliated to the various central labour bodies. Martin Kyne, representing the American C.I.O., greeted the meeting in the name of the C.I.O. and its President, Phillip Murray.

In his opening speech, Toledano, on behalf of Latin-American Labour, pledged support of the policies of President Roosevelt and stressed the danger to the entire continent from the entrenchment of fascism in Argentina, He declared:—

"Roosevelt's policies are a guarantee of tranquility in the Latin-American countries. . . .

"The most serious Latin-American problem is to maintain democracy. Without the Spanish Falange, the present Argentine regime could not exist and could not become a focus of disturbances in other countries."

In all declarations the urgency of support for Argentine Labour, the release of the Argentine prisoners, the return of the constitutional government of Buenos Aires and the unification of Argentine Labour were given the greatest emphasis.

In contrast to speedy recognition of the Ramirez regime, Pan-American and British boycott of the Bolivian coup was followed by non-recognition of General Farrell's anti-United Nations regime in Argentina established following Argentina's "tactical" break with the Axis. The United States, backed rather more reluctantly by the British Government, is insisting that Argentina's verbal break with the Axis be realised in action.

The dilemma of Argentine fascism deepens and the British labour movement must be vigilant to ensure that British foreign policy crystallises much more decisively in support of the democratic forces of Argentina. Anthony Eden's recent plea of "ignorance" in relation to the present role of the Falange in Argentina is indefensible. Furthermore, the threat of the United States to impose economic sanctions against Farrell's fascist regime should be fully supported by the British Government. British investments — bordering upon £400,000,000—and British purchases of meat and wheat are today the biggest factor in Argentina's economy. The British people must see to it that British influence in Argentina is not exercised in favour of backstair bartering with Argentina's vested interests and aggressive foreign policy.

World Conference

British workers will have the opportunity of showing their solidarity with their Latin-American brothers when Vicente Lombardo Toledano heads a strong delegation of trade unionists to the World Conference called by the T.U.C.

When the Trade Union Congress meets in October, British trade unionists must see to it that an early date is fixed for the holding of this vitally important World Conference which should have taken place in London in June.

At this World Conference the British labour movement must see to it that indissoluble bonds of unity are established with the C.T.A.L., which is playing such a great role in helping to ensure that Latin-America will share in the "Century of the Common Man."

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Book Reviews

Co-operatives—and the Future

Co-operatives Against Combines, 1*s*, (Communist Party, 16, King Street, London, W.C.2).

THIS IS an excellent speedy survey of the trade of the British co-operative movement with many pointers as to lines of development. It is timely, and I am glad to have the opportunity of contributing this review.

The authors recognise that the growing interest in co-operatives, coupled with the centenary year publicity, warrants a contribution to the discussion designed to cover a wide field and at the same time be an inspiration to the people to use to the full the economic instrument they have created by their own labour and sacrifice.

Those hard-headed, clear thinking co-operators of Rochdale in 1844 clearly saw the vicious tendencies of industrial capitalism, took pains to put their ideas and methods into writing and were lucky to live in the days of vigorous propagandists and reformers.

These years had known Robert Owen and Tom Paine, and they were to know George Jacob Holyoake and many others. The news travelled.

Today co-operative stores bestride the world and from consumer demand and need has grown a vast democratic machine in industry and trade enrolling forty-three million individuals.

Its international development is not adequately covered in this pamphlet and warrants separate treatment if the co-operative movement is to play any real part in the fight against the combines. As W. Neil Beaton (President, S.C.W.S. Ltd.) has pointed out, it is desirable to use every effort now to avoid creating new international organisations when the existing bodies are quite capable of extension.

We must not repeat in the international sphere some of the local mistakes made in the past.

The authors make some very pointed and important statements as to the future of political relations, employees' status and employee representation on local management committees which will provoke considerable discussion and earn considerable support.

They are most novel and distinctive in their suggestions as to the relationship of the movement with the small private trader and the development of communal centres.

If the authors fail, it is in the fact that generally their approach is by way of a local solution to problems and in concentrating upon local forms of development.

It will have to be recognised that without injury to local autonomy and leaving vast fields to local control there yet remains many forms of activity which must be national in control and character.

Bazaar store and mail order trading are two, and whilst a few societies can organise the buying of market garden produce, many societies are far removed from the actual fields of cultivation.

Divorce this buying from imported produce or divide the buying power of societies and you conceivably create more economic problems than you solve.

Financial problems of an internal character are left almost untouched. What is the correct price policy? The competitive price is not generally accepted save under war-time compulsory powers, otherwise a national fixed price policy would have been more generally adopted pre-war.

What is the correct policy as to interest on capital and dividend on purchase?

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The answer to these questions will have a fundamental effect on future policy and strategy.

There are some inaccuracies in detail, viz.:—

The figure of retail trade is too high; the estimated figure for 1943 is £331,000,000—1942 was £319,000,000.

The material on capital resources is inaccurate. It neglects the effect of duplication of holdings by retail societies in the C.W.S. (over £105,000,000). The statement that two-thirds of the investments of retail societies are outside the co-operative movement is quite inaccurate; they have £4,000,000 in property and £65,000,000 (£170,000,000 less £105,000,000 in the C.W.S.) invested; some of the £65,000,000 is probably in H.P. advances to members. The available capital of the movement is £260,000,000 in retail societies plus between £35,000,000 and £56,000,000 derived from C.W.S. operations (plus some figure for the S.C.W.S. and productive societies). This makes a total of (say) £320,000,000.

The amount used in trade is:—

Stocks	£42	millions
A/Cs owing	£16	,,
Land & Building	£63	,,
Cash	£34	,,
A/Cs in advance	£4	,,
	£159	,,

The reference to the increase in prices compared with sales per member is irrelevant—supplies have been greatly reduced. The movement's proportion of national trade has certainly not declined since the war began.

A new system of licensing for shops may be necessary. The existing one is unsuitable and if we are "to come to an arrangement with existing businesses" under it, we shall have to pay enhanced prices for artificially inflated capital values.

The statement that we are making 25 per cent. of the country's bread is incorrect. The figure is probably below 20 per cent. for Great Britain and below 16 per cent. for England and Wales. The statement that forty capitalist concerns are making 50 per cent. is also wrong. The bread trade is not yet rationalised to anything like that extent, but forty of the country's biggest bakeries are now controlled by one firm—Allied Bakeries.

For many years sales of drygoods *have* kept pace with sales of food, but the relative proportion of drygoods trade is very small and food sales are not increasing rapidly.

This is one of the central problems of co-operative production in the future. A good deal of clear thinking and vigorous statement have been given to a solution. The *Economist*, *New Statesman* and *Observer* have all, recently, offered sound advice on the subject. The best contribution is in a more active membership.

R. G. GOSLING.

Fascist Economy

Germany under Fascism. 1933 *to the present day* by J. Kuczynski (Muller, 9*s* 6*d*).

THIS IS one of the most interesting volumes in Jurgen Kuczynski's "Short History of Labour Conditions under Industrial Capitalism." It gives not only a comprehensive description of labour conditions under German fascism, but attempts also a theoretical analysis of the specific features of a fascist economy. Kuczynski clearly refutes the idea that fascism is something different from monopoly capitalism, but he lays great stress on the new specific features of fascist economy which he defines as "elements of barbarism," "reminiscent of some conditions under feudalism and some in a slave-holding society." Workers are tied to their factories, they are even sold with the factory, they can be lent at interest to another employer. The peasant equally has lost all economic freedom, he is "a serf of the state." Foreign workers are literally treated as slaves.

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Another specific feature of German economy is what Kuczynski calls "primitive accumulation" or the "fascist way of capital export." By all methods of robbery German monopoly capital acquired the key positions of economy in all the occupied countries of Europe. This was combined with "negative accumulation" of consumption industries.

What regard to labour conditions Kuczynski shows how, beginning with stabilisation of wage rates at the lowest crisis level of 1932, they deteriorated through a marked decline of net real wage rates even before the war, while the earnings of employed workers and the net total wage bill increased owing to the armament boom. More revealing than the statistical data are the reports of factory inspectors which describe appalling conditions of children, women and juvenile labour.

Transition to a complete war economy was characterised by general labour conscription, further extension and intensification of the working day, while real wages sank by deterioration of the quality of consumption goods and shortage of foodstuffs. The productivity per worker and hour declined, the worker had reached the limit of physical endurance.

With the campaign against the U.S.S.R. conditions changed "from the serious to the desperate." Total mobilisation conscripted all men from 16-65, all women from 17-45 to national defence work, rations were reduced, intensity of work was again increased by a new wage system abolishing all collective agreements, while every fourth worker is a foreigner treated as an outcast and a slave. Treatment of these forced workers shows German fascism at its worst. Especially for Jewish and so-called East workers conditions are deliberately fixed so low that they cannot survive.

The author supports his analysis with a great wealth of facts and figures. Also anyone who cannot fully accept all his conclusions, will certainly find a lot of highly important material for a deeper understanding of fascist economy. While comparisons with pre-capitalist economic relations are illustrative, it is essential to understand Fascist barbarism as the highest stage of the development of the internal contradictions and the parasitic features of monopoly capitalism, imperialism in its last stage of decline.

J.L.

Publications Received

BOOKS

The Device of Government. An essay in civil polity by John Laird (Cambridge University Press, 6*s*, 173 pp.).

France and the War by a Frenchman. (With an introduction by Professor John Orr, Edinburgh University). (The Moray Press 3*s*, 96 pp.)

The Englishman and his History by H. Butterfield. (C.U.P. 3*s*6*d* 142 pp.)

Stalin and Eternal Russia by Walter Kolarz (Lindsay Drummond, 6*s*, 144 pp.).

BOOKLETS

Germany at a Glance by A. J. Blake (Frederick Muller, 2*s*6*d*, 52 pp.)

Problems of Scientific and Industrial Research (O.U.P., 2*s*, 63 pp.).

PENGUIN BOOKS

Death on the Borough Council by Josephine Bell (9*d*).

Men in Chains by Marcus Clarke (9*d*, 188 pp.).

The Tanker Derbent by Yuri Krimov (9*d*).

Never Come Back by John Mair (9*d*, 190 pp.).

A Plan of Economic Development for India (Penguin, 9*d*, 52 pp.).

PELICAN BOOKS

The Second Common Reader by Virginia Woolf (Penguin, 9*d*, 206 pp.).

Famous American Men of Science (I) by J. G. Crowther (Penguin, 9*d*, 192 pp.).

English Diaries of the XIXth Century. Edited by James Aitken (Penguin, 9*d*, 160 pp.).

The A.B.C. of Psychology by C. K. Ogden (Penguin, 9*d*, 144 pp.).

KING PENGUIN BOOK

Seashore Life and Pattern by T. A. Stephenson (King Penguin, 2*s*, 44 pp.).

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